



## Cultural Survival and Rights: The Unfinished Journey of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord

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### **Abstract**

The signing of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord (CHTPA) in 1997 pledged to end a decades-old violent armed struggle while giving several reparations to the indigenous people of Bangladesh's southern hill zone. The agreement has not yet produced fallouts after 25 years; has not been implemented, and indigenous peoples' grief, desolation, servitude, and mistreatment continued. Communities are losing their identities, cultures, languages, livelihoods, and assets and becoming increasingly vulnerable and disadvantaged. This paper aims to examine why peace agreements have been ineffective in protecting Indigenous peoples from violence and harassment and to explore how institutional and legal mechanisms have failed to restore their lost dignity and rights actively.

**Keywords:** *Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord (CHTPA); Indigenous Peoples; Human Rights; Ethnic Communities; Bangladesh; Conflict; Military Tyranny; Cultural Preservation*

### **Introduction**

Nowadays, discussions about human rights have gotten much attention, and people are more concerned about this issue. As a result, it was thought that Bangladesh, which was liberated from Pakistan in 1971 to provide political and human rights to all people<sup>1</sup>, would be more prudent in establishing justice and securing rights for all the citizens of the land. However, the Bangladesh government maintained its hegemonic stance and was ignorant of the cultural and elementary human rights of the CHT homegrown society. This hill region in Bangladesh incorporates three mountain districts: Rangamati, Khagrachari, and Bandarban into a combined large hill area. It is home to 11 separate indigenous communities of Mongoloid race mostly of Arakanese origin<sup>2</sup> that is officially referred to as 'tribal'<sup>3</sup>. There are differences

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<sup>1</sup> Eric A. Strahorn, "The Bangladesh Liberation War", Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective December 2021 [https://origins.osu.edu/milestones/bangladesh-liberation-war?language\\_content\\_entity=en](https://origins.osu.edu/milestones/bangladesh-liberation-war?language_content_entity=en).

<sup>2</sup> Dutta, J. P. (2000), Impact of Development Programs on Environment and Demographic Phenomena of the Ethnic Minorities of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Center for Policy Dialogue, Dhaka.

among these ethnic groups, each of which has its dialectal, cultural practices, religious convictions, and social and political organization. They even select to dwell in various environments. According to the 2011 national census, the overall indigenous population in this area is around 1,587,000, accounting for approximately 1.08% of Bangladesh's total population<sup>4</sup>. Conflicts arose in this region by way of basic human rights breaches that occurred throughout the British colonial period. ((1760-1947) and continued through the Pakistani governing period (1947-1971), and Bangladeshi nationalism military dominance (1971 - present). The community struggled for land rights, remedies to internal displacements, an end to military tyranny, and ethnic constitutional recognition. The social and political situation twisted by the Bengali settler forced the native people to organize and engage in armed resistance almost exclusively beneath the auspices of the Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati (PCJS) in order to claim regional autonomy due to all common major abuses of human rights, including physical assault, torment, incarceration, and extraction of homelands and livings by agencies of legal surveillance and armed groups with government assistance. The term "Settler" here is used is actually a term introduced by the hill people to refer to people of Bengali descent who moved to this area as part of a resettlement program started in 1979 by the Bangladeshi government. The Government of Bangladesh signed the notable Peace Agreement on December 2, 1997, with the Parbattya Chattagram Jana Sangti Samiti (PCJSS), ushering in a new era in Bangladesh's geopolitical history and raising hopes for the end of a decade-long insurgency (Islam et al., 2022). Even after more than two decades have passed, the struggle among Bengali and Pahari individuals over possessions and communal, economic, and political supremacy remains to split the region (Jamil & Panday, 2008). The Pahari's<sup>5</sup> hopes for greater authority in the region have been dashed. A new chronicle of "Pahari-Bengali" relations emerged as Bengali inhabitants try to find the same socio-political rights as natives in the CHT since the start of the 1990s. The socioeconomic shifts warped by years of Bengali migration counter to the longing of indigenous people have obstructed post-accord situation and political relations, producing hostility, mistrust, and non-cooperation amongst groups that manifest themselves in micro-level social conflict (Choudhury et al., 2017). The CHT Accord is an example of poor execution and an unsuccessful implementation progression from the very beginning, according to comparative research on thirty-four peace deal implementation methods by Joshi and Quinn (2015). Chakma and D'Costa (2013) referred to the situation following the agreement as "violent peace," and Mohsin (2003) stated it as "peace without justice." According to Ullah et al. (2014), the underlying grounds and the causes of social strife —ethnic dislocation, territorial expansion, and the scuffle of groups for social and political ascendancy— have gone unnoticed. As a result, social conflict continues. Furthermore, the military remains firmly embedded in the CHT, and the civil government and the armed forces continue to seize resources and escalate their fight for land and forests, resulting in further entangled conflicts.

Given the long-standing and serious difficulties underpinning many internal battles, researchers believe those countries may require fifteen to twenty years after all-inclusive peace treaties to recover and establish true peace (Wallenstein and Joshi, 2018). This paper tries to examine whether community perceptions of the cultural recognition and rights they sought have reflected any progress in situations 25 years following the CHT agreement and the root causes of their failures. Additionally, to examine the difficulties they face in obtaining assistance from within and outside to end this crisis.

### **Methodology**

This study predominantly utilizes secondary sources. The CHT is a remote area with few facilities. Inadequate inquiry and comprehensive analysis of the CHT area is the result of decades of toxic

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<sup>3</sup> They were referred to as tribes, minor races, ethnic sects, and communities in the 15th amendment to the constitution, which was ratified on June 30, 2011. The Constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh (15th amendment); Article 23(A)

<sup>4</sup> Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, <http://www.bbs.gov.bd>, retrieved on 06.12.2022

<sup>5</sup> Pahari is a Bengali word that means "hill people".

strife, which has rendered the area very dangerous for researchers, relief workers, and media representatives. For example, two experts in Royal Dutch/Shell were kidnapped by tribal rebels in 1984, for instance. In another case, two safekeeping sentinels of Bangladesh hired by the energy corporation named, United Meridian Corporations, in the United States were abducted in March 1998. After paying hefty ransoms, the victims were granted release on both occasions (Rashiduzzaman, 1998: p 668). So, particular attention has been paid to two different sources: first, works that have been published about CHT indigenous peoples; second, news articles and reports from human rights organizations. To chart a sampling of the factual instances that offer proof of indigenous people's lives taken under consideration at first and later on following the agreement, how the researchers looked into mater has been followed. The outcomes of several indigenous community conventions have also been examined. In addition, a study has been conducted on the legal, customary, and historical context of land management as well as the impact of government policies. In addition, the UDHR, ICESCR, ICCPR, ILO-107, ILO-169, the Bangladeshi Constitution, and the UN statement on indigenous people have all been reviewed in the context of pertinent international human rights conventions.

### The Historical Context of the CHT Conflict

In 1860, the British government appointed a police superintendent in the region, and three native leaders were designated as kings for tax-collecting purposes. (Gain, 2000: p 17). These people came from the three most prominent indigenous CHT communities in the CHT districts<sup>6</sup> of Bandarban, Rangamati, and Khagrachhori. The king's tax offered support for both the British and themselves, and the king ruled the CHT population in the British government's long-term interests (Gain, 2000: 17). The hill-dwelling armed forces were allowed under the CHT Frontier Police Ordinance of 1881. And later on the CHT Regulation of 1900, ultimately, constituted the most crucial piece of British law for the CHT's self-government. Plain land dwellers were not permitted to live in hill regions due to these property categories, particularly *khas* (state-owned) (Jamil & Panday, 2008).

Because of the split of British India in 1947, there were no restrictions on immigration or special status in Pakistan in 1963. This resulted in total land and resource exploitation and theft, as well as a substantial state- subsidize relocation of Bangali plain land residents into the hill region. As a result, the daily living of the hill people deteriorated and their identity, culture, religion, and hopes have been cruelly destroyed (Singh, 1996: 129). According to Ramasubramanian (2005), due to population expansion and a shortage of cultivable land, a huge amount of non-tribal inhabitants relocated to the CHT. Also, during Pakistani rule, the Kaptai Hydro-Electric Undertaking (1959-63) overwhelmed 54,000 sections of land, or almost 40% of the best rural land, and dislodged north of 100,000 native individuals<sup>7</sup> (Hussain, 1999). Since the country's independence in 1971, a number of indigenous people groups have openly declared their desire for autonomy in order to conserve their heritage and linguistic identity. But the liberation, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, Bangladesh's first prime minister demanded the hill people give up their ethnic identities and become "Bengalis." In retaliation, the indigenous people created the Parbatya Chottogram Jana Samhati Samiti (PCJSS) in 1972, as well as its military unit, the "Peace Brigade," as well recognized as the "*Shanti Bahini*" in the region (Partha, 2013). A military coup in 1975 resulted in the election of a new administration, which mandated the complete militarization of the CHT. From 1976 until 1997, the region was destroyed by an organized armed war involving Bangladesh's military and the PCJSS nonconforming organization Shanti Bahini. Numerous native hill people were killed. In addition, the Shanti Bahini was responsible for several arbitrary and premeditated murders (Mohsin, 1997). 54,000 indigenous people made their entry into India as an outcome of the conflict, and 50,000 indigenous families still are forcibly displaced. The vast majority of them managed to flee into the dense forest (Jenneke, 1997; Barua, 2001). As part of the counterinsurgency operation, 400 000 landless Bengalis

<sup>6</sup> 'District' is one of the administrative units of Bangladesh.

<sup>7</sup> The indigenous people either received very little compensation or none at all. The dam overflowed even the Chakma king's (one of the major indigenous groups) palace.

were relocated from Bangladesh's plane lands to the CHT between 1979 and 1985 as part of a government transmigration scheme. As they abandoned the battle, Bengali invaders grabbed most of the indigenous people's ancestral land. The government had persuaded people to move to the highlands, where they would be protected by the army, as part of a counterinsurgency strategy. Numerous Bengalis entered CHT without permission from officials responsible for resettlement. The sacred temples of the indigenous people were attacked and destroyed. The Settlers intend to spread Bengali culture throughout the region. 13 notable indigenous people massacres have been committed by Bangladeshi invaders since 1980 (IWGIA, 2012). According to Mohsin (1997), the Bengali settlers are directly supported and protected by the military and civilian administration.

Following years of discussions, the PCJSS group and thus the Bangladeshi state authorities reached an agreement on the Peace Treaty on December 2, 1997, at the urging of the communities of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The settlement was reached with the participation of only two parties. National Committee on CHT Affairs took part as a representative of the state of the People's Republic of Bangladesh and thus the PCJSS represented the inhabitants of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in conformance with Bangladesh's constitution and with the greatest respect for Bangladesh's autonomy and territorial integrity. There are following four parts to the agreement that the two parties reached with the goal of preserving all CHT citizens' democratic, socioeconomic, ethnic, intellectual, and economic freedoms and boosting their macroeconomic stability (Bala, 2022): General Hill District Council and the Hill District Local Government Council, Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council, Regional Council for Rehabilitation, General Amnesty, and Other Matters. It included (a) property rights, (b) the revitalization of ethnic identity, (c) the Rehabilitation of refugees as well as forcibly displaced persons (IDP), and (d) the extraction of military camps. It also encompassed attempts to reestablish indigenous peoples' control over land and possessions, along with their access to human as well as civil rights within the CHT region (Chhakchhuak, 2004).

### **The Post-Accord Reality in CHT**

The United Nations (1992) says that peacebuilding includes a lot of different things like building people's capacity, working toward reconciliation, and changing society. Many non-governmental organizations (NGOs) see peacebuilding as a wide term that encompasses not just long-term transformational activities, conflict avoidance, diplomacy, military presence, humanitarian aid, and the construction of safe zones, and yet also attempts to address the underlying issues of dispute and modify the patterns of collaboration between the stakeholders (Partha, 2013). In contrast, the CHT peace treaty has crumbled. In any event, the peace deals improved Bangladesh's international reputation, and in 1999, Sheikh Hasina, the prime minister of Bangladesh, was even awarded the UNESCO Peace Prize (Dictaan Bang oa, 2004: 8). A poll was conducted in 2000 to judge the opinion of the CHT general people. According to the result of that, the great majority of Pahari inhabitants residing in the CHT were unsatisfied with the way essential policies involving refugee resettlement, decentralized procedures, and land rights were applied. Interestingly, the study found that the majority of Pahari participants believe the administration was not committed to putting the accord into effect (Mohsin, 2003). P 59). The indigenous population has been effectively divided into two groups, one of which opposes the peace treaty and the other that anticipates its complete implementation. The hill individuals are disgusted with the army's prolonged deployment in the vicinity. Conflicts have claimed over 1,000 lives and killed approximately 500 people from both sides since the agreement was reached. Abductions have taken about 1,000 people from each group. Intimidation by local criminal groups financed by opposing organizations has also increased in the section. Repeated complaints have been raised about the government's inadequate enactment. J. B. Larma<sup>8</sup>, the CHT Regional Council leader, really does have continually and strongly

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<sup>8</sup> Additionally, J. B. Larma was a convener of the CHT Accord Implementation Committee, which consists of three members. The committee's other two conveners were A.H. Abdulla, a preceding Chief Whip, and D. Talukdar, an MP at the time and chairman of the CHT Advisory Committee on Refugees. After the 2001 government progress, this council stopped existing.

condemned the non-execution of the CHTPA (Roy, 2003). Several individuals, including Larma, have voiced dissatisfaction with the procedure for executing the agreement (Corpuz, 2000). Several detractors regard it as being a failure since it could not produce sustainable peace and its franchised form of autonomy does not really appear to be functional. Similar to previous agreements, it has been criticized for its content and timing, with detractors arguing it was insufficient, too belated, but also too loud (Samaddar, 1999: 8). The establishment of the CHT Regional Council and the Ministry of CHT Affairs was a result of the peace treaty. However, it is worth noting that the committee currently lacks the necessary capability as stipulated in the agreement.

Bangladesh's government claims that 48 of such 72 Accord Articles have indeed been executed after its completion. The government's claim was refuted by PCJSS, which was made up of CHT residents and civic organizations. According to the report of the Kapaeeng Foundation<sup>9</sup>, a Human Rights Organisation for Indigenous Peoples of Bangladesh, only 25 out of the 72 terms of the CHTPA had been effectively implemented. It implies that 66% of the agreement's arrangements, including its most significant arrangements, have not yet been carried out. The government has been urged to expedite the implementation of the Accord by civil society, IPOs, and development actors; however, no discernible progress has been made to satisfy watchful observers. Lars-Anders, a member of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, in a Press Meeting on the execution problem of CHTPA in Bangladesh expressed his deep concern over the issue that it has been addressed by the forum many times, but protecting the rights of the area's indigenous peoples remained susceptible<sup>10</sup>.

### **Challenges with Domestic Laws and Regulations Adopted Over CHT Peace Issue**

The government must adhere to the CHTPA by enacting new legislation and amending current laws, regulations, and policies, as advised by the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council CHTRC. In compliance with this clause of the CHTPA, the CHTRC (Amendment) Act of 2003, the CHTRC Act of 1998, and the Chittagong Hill Tracts Land Disputes Resolution Commission Act of 2001 were all approved<sup>11</sup>. Statutes and rules permit the CHTRC. The Regional Council oversees infrastructure building, overall governance, Hill District Councils (HDC), local government councils, the Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board, customary law, and social justice<sup>12</sup>. Furthermore, the Regional Council is permitted to advise the Government concerning regional laws. However, in reality, the Regional Council has been unable to fulfill its duties<sup>13</sup>. The Bangladesh High Court announced on April 13, 2010, that the Chittagong Slope Lots Provincial Gathering Demonstration of 1998 was unlawful and ill-conceived since it disregarded the state's solidarity. In responding to a writ case, the High Court determined in 2000 that particular portions of the modified three HDC Acts of 1998 constituted invalid, in addition, discriminatory<sup>14</sup>.

"Both parties have undertaken to revise, amend, and add to, in accordance with the consensus and obligations specified in the various parts of this Agreement, the applicable laws, rules, and practices as soon as practicable," is a declaration contained in Clause 2 in Part one of the CHT Agreement. The PCJSS presented a list of 42 legal principles and ten CHT-related distinct laws and guidelines for revision in regard to adhering to the Accord in April 2015<sup>15</sup>. Nonetheless, the administration has undertaken no

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<sup>9</sup> <http://www.kapaeeng.org/>

<sup>10</sup> Press Conference on Implementation of Chittagong Hill Tracts Peace Accord in Bangladesh, 24 May 2011, UN Press Conference Economic and Social Council. [https://press.un.org/en/2011/110524\\_Indigenous.doc.htm](https://press.un.org/en/2011/110524_Indigenous.doc.htm) (retrieve on December 11, 2022).

<sup>11</sup> Data source: <http://nhrc.portal.gov.bd/>

<sup>12</sup> Data source: <http://www.un-documents.net/>

<sup>13</sup> PCJSS, "Report on the Implementation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts Accord" (Rangamati, 2004)

<sup>14</sup> Mohammad Badiuzzaman vs. Bangladesh and Others, Writ Petition No. 2669 of 2000.

<sup>15</sup> Report on CHT Accord Implementation, 2 December 2016, Rangamati, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Parbatya Chattagram Jana Samhati Samiti, [www.pcjss-cht.org](http://www.pcjss-cht.org)

steps in this regard. Furthermore, the CHTPA is unrelated to the government's 2014 revisions towards the three HDC Acts or even the CHT Development Board Act<sup>16</sup>. Bandarban Hill District Committee (Amendment) Act 2014, Khagrachari Hill District Committee (Amendment) Act 2014, and Rangamati Hill District Committee (Amendment) Act 2014 have all been approved on November 23, 2014, to enhance the number of Transitional Committee representatives from five to fifteen<sup>17</sup>. Even 25 years after that the Accord was formed, neither of the three Hill District Committees has had elections. The three HDCs' Election Rules and Electoral Rolls Rules have not yet been written. As a result, officials from various government agencies have been witnessed making and carrying out a number of decisions concerning general execution, growth, and law and order without first contacting the CHT Regional Commission or the Hill District Commission (Rahman, 2014).

### Scope of International Human Rights Instruments Applied in CHT Peace Accord Implementation

The United Nations Secretary-General noted in a report published in 2004 that democracy, peacetime, also impartiality are not necessarily incompatible objectives; somewhat, they complement one another in ways<sup>18</sup>. Accordingly, the insertion of protections for human rights is likely to be influenced by the primary claims that are made in a dispute and the core agreement that is reached in a settlement. Although it has been demonstrated that settlements that incorporate multiple institutional procedures are more long-lasting, this does not always imply that all of these provisions are implemented (Badran, 2014). A peace settlement, according to Joshi, Lee, and Ginty (2014), is only one step toward ending the violent strife, but somehow it represents a public pledge to reform<sup>19</sup>. Without such a responsibility as basic freedoms regulations, there will be less space for political change. Human rights advocates for indigenous peoples' rights should investigate all possible redress options, particularly the United Nations Expert Mechanism on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, and the United Nations system's human rights treaty mechanisms, in terms of adding to pursuing via the ILO control system (ICCCPR, ICESCR, CEDAW, CRC, CAT). In Asia and South Asia, there are currently no intergovernmental, regional, or sub-regional human rights surveillance groups (Roy, 2009).

From 1920, the ILO has been involved in indigenous individuals' challenges. The Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (No. 169), signed in 1989, represents the only international agreement that solely covers the rights of indigenous communities and is eligible for ratification<sup>20</sup>. As a result, Bangladesh has ratified one of the international human rights treaties, ILO Convention No 107, and Bangladesh's indigenous people are more dependent on 107. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) all have an influence on indigenous people in Bangladesh<sup>21</sup>. Furthermore, while the Convention on Biological Variety is primarily concerned with biological diversity, it has a number of provisions that concern indigenous individuals' protections over resources and cultural antiquities<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Data source: <http://www.kapaeeng.org/>

<sup>17</sup> Data source: [nhrc.portal.gov.bd](http://nhrc.portal.gov.bd)

<sup>18</sup> Report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, "The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies," New York, 2004.

<sup>19</sup> Primary source: Caspersen, N. (2019). "Human rights in territorial peace agreements", Review of International Studies.

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/indigenous-tribal/lang--en/index.htm>

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

<sup>22</sup> Articles 8(j) and 10(c) are the provisions that are most crucial. The "knowledge, innovations, and practices of indigenous and local communities..." are the subject of Article 8(j). also, the "impartial sharing of the advantages emerging from the use of such information, advancements" and so on. Article 1010(c) concerns the "standard utilization of natural assets as per customary social practices that are viable with protection or reasonable use necessities". See IAITPTF & IWGIA (undated) for an indigenous peoples' critique of the Convention.

Over the past several years, indigenous human rights activists from Bangladesh have participated in a variety of international mechanisms, along with the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues; the Taskforce on Indigenous Populations, and the Taskforce on the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, two subgroups of the former Commission on Human Rights which engage to indigenous concerns; and the first meeting of the UN Expert Mechanism for Indigenous Peoples. They have had minimal interaction with the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of Indigenous Communities. Unless and until this trend rapidly shifts, these processes will have little effect on the ground. Native people groups are constrained to notice common liberties settlement processes, eminently ILO Convention No. 107, as a result of their political exclusion from Bangladeshi politics. It is maybe slightly ahead of the CHT. Convention 107 is concerning the participation of indigenous societies in government, administration, and development activities, and is more in line with the requirements of Convention No. 169. Bangladesh, on the other hand, has yet to sign ILO Convention No. 169, which guarantees indigenous peoples' rights. Additionally, despite being a signatory to Bangladesh regularly breaches the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)<sup>23</sup>. Bangladesh cast a ballot against the Overall Gathering goal supporting the Unified Countries Statement on the Freedoms of Native People groups (2007).

The type and quantity of relevant materials to which CEACR members have access also affect their competence. It is difficult to obtain such information due to a number of issues, including the government's lack of cooperation, political system flaws, and, most importantly, the disadvantaged situation of indigenous individuals. At the state level, indigenous individuals encounter difficulty communicating with their respective governments, such as the Ministry of CHT Affairs, Special Affairs Division, and Ministry of Labor, exacerbating the situation. It is more difficult for indigenous peoples to provide the information and contributions that are required for CEACR members and because of the cumulative consequences of their disadvantages in the aforementioned areas, government personnel must perform their commitments under the agreement in a more appropriate manner.

All international human rights treaties' long-term goal is the domestic implementation of the rights at issue. National and local activities must therefore supplement global lobbying and networking. It is evident that indigenous peoples' practices and legislation in Bangladesh can and should be guided by these international standards; however, it appears that political lobbying is required to actually implement the aforementioned rights; an area inside which indigenous people in Bangladesh, like some of those everywhere in the globe, have been severely neglected, owing mostly to democracy's majoritarian tendencies<sup>24</sup>. It is therefore challenging to establish networks and alliances across the political, ethnic, and civic spectrums. International human rights mechanisms are without a doubt flawed. They are thought to have little to no "bite" in execution. Consequently, despite the persuasiveness of these strategies, they lack the direct "sting" necessary to obtain judgments on violations of applicable international norms. In dualistic legal systems like Bangladesh's, international treaty-based rights are not immediately enforceable in local courts<sup>25</sup>.

## **Conclusion**

Roy (2021) says that the Chittagong Hill Tracts Treaty exemplifies how accords may very well be inadequately executed. A major flaw was the absence of a discernible underwriter during the "execution stages" preparation and discussion. A three-person Implementation Committee has been formed by the

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<sup>23</sup> Data source: <http://www.kapaeeng.org/>

<sup>24</sup> Over the past few years, statements made by Bangladeshi indigenous participants and Government of Bangladesh representatives at the UN Permanent Forum demonstrate both disagreements regarding various issues and the Government of Bangladesh's efforts to demonstrate its positive efforts for indigenous people.

<sup>25</sup> Data source: [www.ilo.org](http://www.ilo.org)

two parties to the agreement, but it does not appear to have sufficient authority or credibility. There is no international organization that can enforce agreements or deal with violations. Therefore, if the question must be asked and there are no responses, to whom should Indigenous Peoples turn to comply with the Chittagong Hill Tracts Treaty? Sadly, there is no clear explanation. Due to their lack of international treaty status, UN instruments like Treaties, Agreements, and Other Constructive Arrangements are difficult to put into action. Neither the domestic nor international courts are qualified in light of these circumstances.

But I hardly disregard the importance of various other unreviewed factors that may have a bearing on the prevailing state of CHTPA execution. Local bureaucratic mindset, funding difficulties, and an absence of sociability between integrators and government figures, specifically, could all have quite an influence on CHTPA effectiveness in Bangladesh. As a consequence, any superfluous elements could well be examined further in future studies.

Another thing to consider is, the international community can gain the following knowledge from the CHT peace agreement's implementation: Dealings that interact with the state should not, first and foremost, enter into agreements whose implementation is solely the executive's responsibility. The stages of negotiating and putting things into action ought to be broken down into stages, and steady progress should be made through the implementation of partial agreements under the supervision of authorities from third parties who have the appropriate authority. Second, arbitration clauses in contracts ought to be carefully drafted to ensure that neutral third parties with the authority to compel compliance from the State participate. because it is a safeguard for ensuring compliance to include the agreed-upon points in a national constitution or interstate treaty. Nevertheless, despite this complexity, the CHT region's residents still imagine that internal party fights, violence, or criminal activity will come to an end and their lives will move to peace, stability, and growth in the hills.

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